tea	Turkish coffee	443
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up [438] a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale.

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442 bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788 title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554] name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowandus. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

is of wood or horn with a studded pommel, and the sheath is of rawhide. There is some variation in size, but the typical weapon is about a foot in length. The best steel is supposed to have tiny undulations in its grain, and comes from Mosul or Damascus. The finer examples have engraved silver hilts and sheaths, and the grip is often bound with silver wire. The khunjir is worn in the sash on the right side and is held with the blade curving downward toward the user. From this position virtually the only stroke is a vertical slashing motion with the raised forearm, and its use does not have the versatility of a straight blade, which, for example, can be used in thrusting. Often the rosary (tazbih, from Arabic subha) is entwined about the hilt. To digress, the Muslim rosary in its complete form consists of 99 beads, separated into groups of 33 by 3 markers, but today this is only found preserved in the homes of the extremely pious or worn around the waist of a darwish. It is used in certain devotional exercises, and the number of beads is popularly supposed to correspond to the 99 names or qualities of God found in the Quran. The common form, such as that referred to above, is of 33 beads with two markers, and has a much simpler application in occupying the hand whenever idle, with no reference whatever to religious sentiment, a substitute for the cigarette. Most are of heavy amberoid beads imported from Germany and strung in a loop ending in three small tassels. The most precious come from Mecca and are

411

788
293

of ebony or some other wood inlaid with silver dots. 788 ●
The rosary may also be carried hanging loosely about the 293
wrist.

The chieftains, and other townspeople of high 411
station, carry pistols, almost always of the automatic
type, in oilcloth holsters on the right or left hip, some-
times attached to the belt with a lanyard. The butt is
often wrapped in a silk handkerchief, and this, together
with the type of holster and the position in which it is
worn, mitigates against the most efficient use, as in the
case of the dagger. Bodyguards, as well as most of the
populace, when fully armed, carry rifles and oilcloth
bandoliers of ammunition, the latter hung crossed on the
chest. The rifles are usually Iranian Army Mausers.
British army weapons, such as the Webley revolver, are
avoided because their possession is not easily explained [578]
to the authorities. It is difficult for Americans, in
whose homes firearms are commonplace, to appreciate the
apprehensiveness of government officers in an area of
well-armed people such as this. In Egypt, Iran, Syria,
and Turkey, as well as most of Iraq, the bulk of the
agricultural population have comparatively few rifles among
them and there is little threat of armed revolt in this
quarter, save in the case of a few minority groups, such
as the Druzes, who have maintained their integrity by
precisely this means. The sale of arms and ammunition, [656]
except by almost impossible government formalities, is

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Hakim who is also the corpse-washer, mirin sher, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 763 [428] [788] [765] 764 767 [533]

next to the sarcophagus, is a wooden stand on which are to be found bowls of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mausoleum, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Kurdistan, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East. 766 [788] [769]

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to confine the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the familiya and in the size and splendor of its celebrations. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually Arabic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowandus, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance 565 593

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minber, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minber, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

themselves teach the child the minimum essentials of the religion at home, the testimony of faith, the Fatiha or opening chapter of the Quran, and the ritual of prayer. Beyond this parental instruction many do not proceed. Girls may also attend religious classes of their own in the summer, identical in content with those given the boys. Religious training at Rowandus enjoyed a high reputation in the district, and, unlike the government schools, was attended by poor youths from the agricultural villages who sought a religious career. Just as a mulla is not formally ordained, there is no ceremony of confirmation in Islam, and, after circumcision, a boy simply "grows up in the faith."

793 794 871 869

Prayer is required five times daily of every Muslim, male or female. The times of prayer come at dawn, a few minutes after noon, a point approximately between noon and nightfall, a few minutes after sunset, and at nightfall. In addition, an extremely pious person may add two prayers during the night. One must be in a condition of ritual purity to pray, and the usual requirement is the lesser ablution (wudu) which consists of washing the face, hands, and feet. Major pollutions, of which sexual intercourse is outstanding, demand the greater ablution (ghusl), a complete bathing of the body. When in a state of purification, the worshipper stands facing in the direction of Mecca at the appointed time, and, placing his hands open on each side of his face, intones the phrase

788

[783] [515]

Allahu akbar, "God is greatest." What follows constitutes 788
a rak'a ("bowing"), and a varying number of "bows" are necessary at the different times of prayer, for example, two at dawn and four at noon. The worshipper begins a rak'a standing upright and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran and additional passages. He next bows at the waist, placing his hands on his thighs, and straightens up. He then drops to his knees, and, placing his hands before him on the ground, puts his face between them, touching the forehead and nose to the earth. After this, he sits back on his haunches, and touches his face to the ground a second time. This constitutes a single rak'a, and its movements are accompanied by the repetition of certain phrases, of which "God is greatest" is the most frequent. The worshipper begins a second by standing erect and reciting the opening chapter of the Quran again. After each two rak'as and at the end of the prayer, the worshipper recites the shahada, the testimony of faith mentioned in connection with naming a child, and other formulae. It has not been thought necessary to record the entire ritual here, for it may be found completely described in a number of other works and is no different in Rowandus than, say, in Egypt.[1] The townspeople, like other Muslims, perform their devotions anywhere, in the mosque, in their homes, or on the streets. At the noon

[1]Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 74-78.

prayer on Friday many persons gather in the great mosque, At the noon. 788
and between the second and third rak'as the mulla may deliver [537]
a short sermon, usually a stereotyped oration. The language
of both prayer and sermon is Arabic. It is difficult to [183]
say to what extent the townspeople are faithful to the re-
quirement of prayer, but an observably large number ignore
one or more of the five daily. Women often neglect their
prayers entirely. The tasbih or rosary has been mentioned
in the section treating dress, and may be used in devotional
exercises of a personal nature, for example, repetition of
prayers or the qualities of God. It is most often used to
occupy idle hands, however, the mind of the manipulator on
matters far divorced from religion.

In addition to prayer, a Muslim is expected to give 795
away part of his yearly earnings as alms. In the early 779
days of Islam these contributions were of two types, zakat,
a fixed proportion of the income, and sadaqat, optional
gifts. The zakat have been absorbed into the government
system of taxation, and the townspeople of Rowandus are
thus not held liable, outside of their usual taxes, to
enforced charity. Many free collections, sadaqat, however,
are made throughout the year, for example, aid for the
destitute Arab mentioned in the section treating society,
and contributions to these charities are regarded as acts
of piety. Another requirement is the duty of pilgrimage 788
to Mecca at least once during the believer's lifetime. In
spite of the high cost and the arduous character of the
journey, a surprising number of persons in the Rowandus

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their achievements. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultous meetings, the darwishes commonly practice white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment. 792 789 [158] [755] [304]

The darwishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Kurdish trousers and shirt, but disdained the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the mullas. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the serai in connection with firing the Ramadan cannon, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some darwishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's darwish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the darwish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd 792 [291] [293] [788] [212]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[29], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[30], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

is thus smooth, devoid of longitudinal creases, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machined embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rhomb-shaped gusset is cut quite narrow (see diagram), so that the result is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European seamen's trousers[53], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of 0.80 m. to the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of 0.40 m. for the other type. The length, 0.90 m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is 2.00 m.

Jacket, *čûkê*, from the Rowanduz area (E. 2322b). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sulaimani area but, like the trousers belonging to it, made of broader-woven, smooth hempen material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of 6 lengths of material. It has no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is 0.70 m., span 1.72 m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn stuck down into the trousers and the gathered casing at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad sash wound several times around the waist.

Sash, *pîlêk*, is about 4.00 m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the sash can be flowered artificial silk (E. 2317, length 3.35 m.), of mauve velvet (E. 2323, length 3.09 m.), or of heavily-flowered cotton material. They are sold by hawkers in the *sûq*, for example in Sulaimani.

Footwear during the summer I was in Southern Kurdistan was European leather shoes from the "Bata" factory in Czechoslovakia, local leather, or cloth shoes, *kêlâ*[54], (E. 2320). The element least connected with dress, shoes, are removed during prayers, on entering a mosque, and before treading on the rugs of the house. Cloth shoes are unexcelled for moving about in the mountains; there is no difference between right and left foot. A thick sole is formed by strips of cloth being folded together rectangularly[55], 0.115 m. long and 0.03 m. broad (E. 2274a-c) and hammered flat with a cone-shaped

[Text continues TOP of P. 94--analyst]

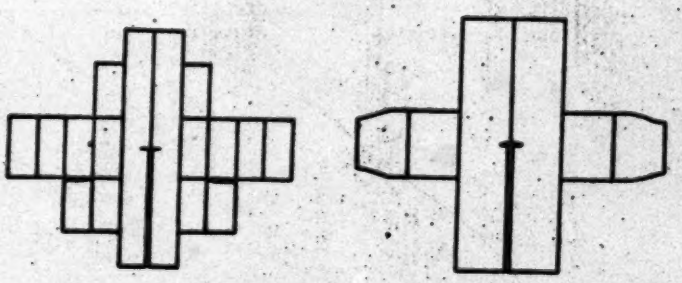

Fig. 75. Diagram. Cut of the jacket (E. 2314a) of Sulaimani type. Scale 1:30.
Fig. 76. Diagram. Cut of jacket (E. 2322a) of Rowanduz type. Scale 1:30.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

As we know, the five pillars of Islam are: The confession of faith, the five daily eulogies of Allah, generally known as the five daily "prayers", the duty to give alms, the fast in the 9th month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca undertaken in the 12th month of the Muslim lunar year[1].

Whereas the confession of faith is not dealt with in the law books of Islam, the other four pillars, coupled with the necessary ritual purity when reciting the daily prayers, form the five religious acts or pious exercises that comprise the actual cult of Islam.

What place has this cult in the life of the Kurdish woman?

With the nymphs of Paradise, houris, awaiting the faithful in Paradise—an idea that only appears at the beginning of Muhammed's revelations[2] and is later dropped[3]—the Islamic woman, in our Western conception, is to some extent excluded from the religious life of Islam. The same impression is gained by a visit to a mosque. Whereas in our Western culture, most of the congregation that assembles in church on Sunday—the only day devoted by us to religion—are women, few women are seen in Islam's ever-open, carpeted, silent house of prayer, the mosque. When women go there it is only within a definite area barred by a low railing at the far end of the building.

If without access to a Muslim home, one therefore gains the impression that in Islam a life of piety is a matter for the men, yet it is only at the Friday midday prayer that men congregate in the mosque to any great extent. The men who visit the mosque daily and at several of the five daily prayer times, are those who in their homes or at their places of work have insufficient room and quiet to pray and to perform the prior, ordained ritual washing. Most other men say their prayers in their homes, their booths, or at their place of business[3]. Kurdish women were found to possess a warm and living interest in their religion, but their piety is exercised within the home.

Among the women of the village aristocracy in Topzawa, the five daily prayer periods were observed with the utmost devotion.

The midday prayer that begins the day was observed individually—not like the others, in concert—by the two adult women in the house and the 17 year old daughter shortly after noon and for up to one hour later. The prayer rug, *Sêrmal*, (E. 2254) of goat's wool, rectangular in form, 1.60 × 1.16 m. in size, woven in grey and brown natural-coloured yarn, wedge patterned, was placed on the floor in the three-walled room, the axis of which was orientated towards Mekka. The women tied the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

782
531
778
286

Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goat's wool in natural colours. (E. 2254). Topzawa.

loose-hanging ends of their white head veil down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them, and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then loosened their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their backs, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the costume. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the arms of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great"—. She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sure of the Coran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, *rak'a*, ending in the kneeling position whilst reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to Juynboll[6], the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 3–8, that is to say six positions, constituting a *rak'a*, whereas Gibb[7] allows seven position to each *rak'a*, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, or as a beginning of, each *rak'a*.

782
516
[788]
782
512
779

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four *rak'a*, was usually said on the clay roof about 6 p.m., shortly before sundown.

On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three *rak'a*, took place down in the three-walled central room at about 8 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four *rak'a* at 9–10 p.m.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 · MA11 Kurd MA11

pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

782
735

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

785
196
264
834

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

785
264

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result *of* a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

788

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

[484]

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

554
788
292

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sărpĕl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *dū-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

788 527 857

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'id-l-qurbân* or *qurbân bairâm*, that is spent in Minâ on the return from 'Arafât to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

788 196 527

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safâ* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minâ where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minâ. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

788 771

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3–4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramaḍān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in Balkha, whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

Uncleanliness. During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieus in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and measures in this connexion were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[15] (see p. 159), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[16] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[17]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[18]. [515] [788]

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *haqqa*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Charmaband and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[19] Naqshbandi[20], Naqshbandiya[21], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammad Baha-ad-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[22], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of nudism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 291

According to Edmonds[23] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Kerim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dance of the Mystics'", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Jari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the man's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

responsibility for religious education taken over by the leader of the local *Shaikh* family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and sanitary standard of the village (the subject of clean and unclean having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the «petty squabbles» of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the piously fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local derwish or *Shaikh*. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least *among* the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and less expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

than at present. The route from the Suleimani area went by caravan to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Suleimani area journeyed together.

The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should attempt to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pot-latch» series of feasts[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basicly the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. *G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. 434 ff.*).

which the head of the family has not, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in «the smokefilled room», (b) the man of less prestige get together in an informal «rooftop soiety», and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complete status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — «they come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home». Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages.

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammad commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the common ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadjis* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally coveted end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still